

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 270979

NODIS
CHEROKEE FOR AMBASSADOR

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 8628 ACTION SECSTATE NOV 1.

QUOTE: S E C R E T GENEVA 8628

NODIS

CHEROKEE

TO THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFEL

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR RH UK
SUBJ: RHODESIAN CONFERENCE: MEETING IAN SMITH

1. I MET SMITH AT 5:30 ON NOV. 1. HE WAS JOINED BY DAVID
SMITH, VAN DER BYL AND JACK GAYLARD.

2. SMITH OPENED THE MEETING BY ANNOUNCING HIS INTENTION
TO RETURN TO RHODESIA AND LEAVE HIS DELEGATION IN THE
HANDS OF VAN DER BYL AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER,
SQUIRES. HE TOLD ME THAT HE WOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH
WITH THE DELEGATION AND AS SOON AS THE BRITISH "STOP
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WALKING AROUND THE PROBLEM" HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO

RETURN TO GENEVA. HE HAD WASTED ENOUGH TIME IN GENEVA
AND WAS NOT PREPARED TO STAY AWAY FROM RHODESIA ANY LONGER.

3. AT THAT POINT, I MADE MY INSTRUCTED POINTS. I
REMIND SMITH OF OUR APPRECIATION AND SYMPATHY. I TOLD
HIM THAT THE PRINCIPLE OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE
MUST BE THE FORMATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THAT
IF THE CONFERENCE BREAKS UP THERE IS NO ALTERNATE
U.W. POLICY THAT WOULD BE MORE FAVORABLE TO RHODESIAN
WHITES. I URGED HIM NOT TO CONSIDER THE FIVE POINTS A
LEGAL CONTRACT OR TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONFRONTA-
TION WITH US. I POINTED OUT THAT WE HAD TWO GOALS.
FIRST, WE SOUGHT THE INSTALLATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERN-
MENT WHICH WOULD PERMIT WHITES TO STAY IN RHODESIA IF
THEY WISHED. SECOND, IT WAS OUR AIM TO SEE A MODERATE
MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN AN INDEPENDENT RHODESIA. I
REVIEWED WITH SMITH THE ORIGIN OF THE FIVE POINTS AND
OUR COMMITMENT TO ANNEX C.

4. SMITH DID NOT QUESTION MY PRESENTATION OF THE FACTS
EXCEPT TO POINT OUT THAT HE DID NOT MEET HIS CABINET
ON MONDAY, SEPT. 20. HE MET THE CABINET THE FOLLOWING
DAY AND BRIEFED THEM ON THE BASIS OF THE FIVE POINTS.
HE ADJOURNED THE CABINET AND SAID HE WOULD RECONVENE
IT ONCE HE HAD A SIGNAL FROM US. HE DID SO ONCE
YOUR MESSAGE WAS PASSED THROUGH PRETORIA.

5. GAYLARD REMINDS THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THE
RHODESIANS HAD RECEIVED OUR EARLIER MESSAGE IN WHICH WE
SAID THE SECURITY PORTFOLIOS WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO
MANAGE WITH THE AFRICANS. GAYLARD ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT
THEY ASSUMED THE PRETORIA MESSAGE OVERTOOK THE EARLIER
SIGNAL.

6. SMITH ALSO STATED THAT HE HAD DONE EVERYTHING
POSSIBLE TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF CONTROVERSY WITH US.
WHAT HE INTERPRETED TO BE RICHARD'S DISMISSAL OF
THE FIVE POINTS AND WHAT HE ALLEGED TO BE BRITISH
"LEAKS" OF ANNEX C FORCED HIM TO DEFEND THE RHODESIAN
POSITION IN PUBLIC. SMITH NOTED THAT RICHARD IS NOW
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BEHAVING MORE REASONABLY ABOUT THE FIVE POINTS AND HE
ASSUMES THAT OUR COUNSEL HAD BROUGHT RICHARD TO CHANGE
HIS MIND.

7. I ASKED SMITH HOW HE ASSESSED AFRICAN INTEREST
IN RENEWED BRITISH COLONIAL AUTHORITY AND HOW RHODESIAN
WHITES WOULD REACT IF THE BRITISH. FOR EXAMPLE, NAMED
A GOVERNOR-GENERAL. SMITH AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARGUED

STRONGLY THAT RHODESIAN WHITES WOULD REACT ADVERSELY TO SUCH A MOVE. KNOWING THE BRITISH DID NOT INTEND TO EXERCISE REAL AUTHORITY, THEY ARGUED THAT BRITISH PRETENSES WOULD HAVE A DEMORALIZING EFFECT.

8. WE THEN TURNED TO RICHARD'S PROPOSAL THAT A DATE OF INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE BE SET. SMITH TOLD ME THAT RICHARD HAD NOT PRESENTED A CONVINCING CASE OR GIVEN MIM ADEQUATE ASSURANCE THAT THE CONFIRMATION OF A DATE OF INDEPENDENCE WOULD MOVE THE CONFERENCE FORWARD. RICHARD HAD FAILED TO MAKE CLEAR WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FAILED TO PRODUCE A CONSTITUTION BEFORE THE AGREED DATE. HE HAD WARNED RICHARD THAT THE CONFERENCE COULD BE BOGGED DOWN IN A FRUSTRATING DEBATE OVER FRANCHISE.

9. I PRESSED SMITH TO CLARIFY HIS POSITION AND HE INFORMED ME THAT DESPITE HIS RESERVATIONS HE WAS PREPARED TO MEET RICHARD AND THE OTHER CHIEFS OF DELEGATION TO DISCUSS THE MATTER. HE SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO CLEAR THE ATMOSPHERE AND TO GIVE MODERATES LIKE NKOMO AND MUZOREWA A LEG UP ON THE RADICAL FRINGE. HE DID NOT CLOSE THE DOOR TO AN AGREEMENT ON A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

10. REGARDING FRANCHISE I QUERIED SMITH ABOUT ORIGINAL NKOMO PLAN (36 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ELECTED ON UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, 36 BY THOSE WITH MEDIUM QUALIFICATIONS - PREDOMINATELY BLACK, AND 36 BY HIGHLY QUALIFIED VOTERS - ALMOST ALL WHITE). I ASKED IF HE THOUGHT THIS WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE BLACKS. SMITH SAID NO. I SUGGESTED THAT IF HE COULD ACCEPT SOMETHING ALONG THIS LINE HE OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO MAKE A GENERAL STATEMENT THAT
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THERE WOULD BE TRUE MAJORITY RULE EVEN IF ON A LIMITED FRANCHISE. SMITH SAID HE WOULD REFLECT ON THIS.

11. SMITH REVIEWED WITH SOME PESSIMISM THE NATIONALIST SITUATION. HE FEELS THAT NKOMO HAS SEVERELY COMPRO-MISED HIMSELF IN HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH MUGABE. PERSONALITY AND TRIBAL DIFFERENCES SERIOUSLY DIVIDE HIM FROM MUZOREWA. A POLITICAL MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE TWO WOULD ONLY BE ONE OF SHORT-LIVED CONVENIENCE.

12. AT END OF ABOVE CONVERSATION, EVEN THOUGH I HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS, I ASKED TO SPEAK TO SMITH ALONE ON THE QUESTION OF VAN DER BYL REMAINING BEHIND AS ACTING HEAD OF RHODESIAN DELEGATION. INITIALLY I REITERATED OUR RESPECT FOR THE WAY HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT HAD

CONDUCTED THEMSELVES SINCE PRETORIA MEETING. FURTHER-
MORE, WE UNDERSTOOD, AS DID MOST OTHERS, HIS NEED TO
GO HOME. AFTER APOLGIZING FOR INTERFERING IN
RHODESIAN AFFAIRS, I POINTED OUT THAT VAN DER BYL IS
SEEN AS A SYMBOL OF RHODESIAN DIE-HARDS AND MANY WILL
HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT LEAVING HIM IN CHARGE WAS
TRUE INDICATION OF RHODESIAN INTENTIONS.

13. SMITH SAID HE REALIZED THAT VAN DER BYL HAD
UNFORTUNATE TENDENCY TO TALK TOO MUCH IN HARDLINE
TERMS BUT WOULD BE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO MODERATE
HIS APPROACH. FURTHERMORE, HE AND SQUIRES WHO ALSO
STAYING HERE WOULD HAVE EQUAL STATUS. NORMALLY
DAVID SMITH WOULD REMAIN BUT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT HOME
REQUIRE HIS PRESENCE THERE. SMITH, HIMSELF, WOULD BE
WILLING AND ABLE TO GET BACK IN A DAY AND WOULD BE
PREPARED CALL VAN DER BYL HOME OR REPLACE HIM IF HE
GOT OUT OF LINE.

14. I THEN SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO ME IN HIS INTEREST
NOT TO PUT HIMSELF IN A POSITION IN WHICH OTHERS
COULD ACCUSE HIM OF DOWNGRADING CONFERENCE OR HAVING
NO REAL INTENTION TO LET IT SUCCEED. THIS WAS HIS
DECISION TO MAKE BUT, IF VAN DER BYL REMAINED, I URGED
HIM OR VAN DER BYL HIMSELF TO FIND OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE
FORTHCOMING, CONCILIATORY STATEMENT WHICH WOULD REPEAT
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SMITH'S OWN PUBLICLY-EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR QUICK SOLUTION.

15. COMMENT: SMITH HAS NOT RULED OUT COMING TO AN
AGREEMENT OVER A DATE OF INDEPENDENCE AND SHOWED
SUBSTANTIALLY MORE FLEXIBILITY THAN HE DID WITH
RICHARD. I AM INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT RICHARD IS ON
THE RIGHT TRACK AND MY MEETINGS WITH MUZOREWA AND NKOMO
WERE FURTHER EVIDENCE TO THIS FACT. I SEE ADVANTAGES
IN SMITH'S RETURNING TO RHODESIA AND THEREBY INDICATING
HOW TOUGH HE IS PREPARED TO BE. I AM NEVERTHELESS
CONCERNED BY HIS DECISION TO LEAVE THE RHODESIAN
DELEGATION IN THE HANDS OF VAN DER BYL AND SQUIRES.
(SEE SEPTTEL). CATTO
UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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